

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

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CIAE-00 H-03 INR-11 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-04 OMB-01 PA-04

PM-07 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15

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COME-00 DRC-01 /197 W

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3637

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

USMISSION GENEVA

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 9967

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM TECH IAEA JA US XF

SUBJ: NPT

REF: A. TOKYO 8528 B. TOKYO 8952

SUMMARY: WHILE RECENT INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS ON NUCLEAR

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PROLIFERATION AND WEAKENED TANAKA GOVERNMENT HAVE STRENGTHENED

POSITION OF OPPONENTS OF JAPAN'S RATIFICATION OF NPT, OBSERVERS IN INDUSTRY AND IN JAPAN'S NUCLEAR MATERIALS CONTROL AGENCY RECENTLY DESCRIBED TO SCICOUNS SOME POSITIVE FACTORS IN JAPAN'S NPT EQUATION. AMONG THESE POSITIVE FACTORS ARE INDUSTRY'S SUPPORT FOR RATIFICATION AND STA MINISTER MORIYAMA'S LESS ACTIVE OPPOSITION TO NPT. OBSERVERS ALSO REPORT THAT WORKING LEVEL DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN FONOFF AND STA HAVE FINALLY BEGUN TO DISCUSS GOJ POSITION FOR NEGOTIATING WITH IAEA, ALTHOUGH NO DECISION HAS BEEN MADE AS TO HOW AND WHEN TO CONDUCT NEGOTIATIONS. NEVERTHELESS, DESPITE POSITIVE FACTORS, STRONG REAFFIRMATION OF NPT BY US AT ALL APPROPRIATED JUNCTURES WOULD STRENGTHEN HAND OF JAPANESE SUPPORTERS. END SUMMARY.

1. IN CONVERSATION WITH SCICOUNS, YOSHIRO KAWASHIMA, DIRECTOR OF JAPAN'S NUCLEAR MATERIAL CONTROL CENTER, AND LONG-TIME ADVOCATE OF JAPANESE ADHERENCE TO NPT, COMMENTED ON THE CONSEQUENCES OF RECENT HAPPENINGS ON JAPANESE ATTITUDES TOWARD RATIFICATION OF THE NPT. KAWASHIMA HIMSELF HAS NOT CHANGED BELIEF THAT NPT RATIFICATION REMAINS VITAL FOR JAPAN'S FUTURE, AND WHILE HIS OWN INFLUENCE ON POLICY FORMULATION IS NOT GREAT, HE HAS BEEN A CLOSE AND USUALLY ACCURATE OBSERVER OF THE PROGRESS OF THIS ISSUE IN BOTH GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY CIRCLES.

2. KAWASHIMA CONFIRMS OTHER ESTIMATES THAT WHILE BOTH EVENTS WERE SERIOUS BLOWS TO NPT RATIFICATION BY JAPAN, US DECISION TO SUPPLY REACTORS AND NUCLEAR FUEL TO EGYPT AND ISRAEL HAD GREATER IMPACT THAN INDIAN NUCLEAR EXPLOSION. KAWASHIMA SAID THAT EGYPT-ISRAEL ARRANGEMENTS WERE IMMEDIATELY SEIZED UPON BY MORIYAMA AND OTHER NPT DETRACTORS TO SUPPORT VIEW THAT NPT NOT NECESSARY TO ASSURE JAPANESE ACCESS TO NUCLEAR FUEL SUPPLIES. THIS, IN TURN, WAS EMBARRASSING TO FONOFF WHICH HAS RELIED HEAVILY ON FUEL ASSURANCE ARGUMENT IN ITS ADVOCACY OF NPT. SCICOUNS POINTED OUT THAT JAPAN WAS PRINCIPAL BENEFICIARY OF SAME US POLICY OF NOT INSISTING ON NPT ADHERENCE AS CONDITION OF NUCLEAR FUEL SUPPLY; THUS, CONFIDENTIAL

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JAPANESE CRITICISM OF THESE ARRANGEMENTS SOMEWHAT DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND. KAWASHIMA ACCEPTS THAT THERE IS INCONSISTENCY IN JAPANESE POSITION; BUT, WHETHER LOGICAL OR NOT, VIEW IS NEVERTHELESS WIDELY HELD AND THUS DAMAGING TO NPT PROSPECTS.

3. KAWASHIMA EXPLAINED THAT VIEW IS BEING EXPRESSED THAT EGYPT-ISRAEL ARRANGEMENTS INDICATE US NOW WILLING

TO LIVE WITH TWO CATEGORIES OF NUCLEAR FUEL CUSTOMERS:
THOSE WHO RATIFY NPT AND THOSE WHO WILL ACCEPT SAFEGUARDS
ON MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT OBTAINED FROM FOREIGN SUPPLIERS,
BUT REFUSE TO ACCEPT NPT. THUS, JAPAN NOW HAS CHOICE
AS TO WHICH CATEGORY IT WISHES TO BE IN, AND CONTENTION IS
EVEN BEING ADVANCED THAT US MAY PREFER THAT JAPAN
KEEP OPEN NUCLEAR OPTION AS COUNTERWEIGHT TO CHINESE
AND INDIAN NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES. THESE SAME NPT CRITICS
SAY THAT BASIC INTEREST OF PRESENT HIGHEST US AUTHORITIES
IN NPT ITSELF IS OPEN TO DOUBT. POLITICAL UNCERTAINTIES
WHICH HAVE WEAKENED TANAKA LEADERSHIP ARE FURTHER NEGATIVE
FACTOR IN NPT PICTURE.

4. WHILE DISCOURAGED KAWASHIMA SEES SOME ROOM FOR
HOPE THAT NPT RATIFICATION IS NOT DEAD ISSUE, AND HAS
MADE SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS TO FONOFF DESIGNED TO
HELP REVIVE MOVEMENT TOWARD RATIFICATION. AFFIRMATIVE
FACTORS INCLUDE FACT THAT STA MINISTER MORIYAMA'S
OPPOSITION TO NPT APPEARS TO HAVE MODERATED SOMEWHAT,
WITH MORIYAMA NOW TAKING, AT LEAST PUBLICLY, AN
AMBIGUOUS POSITION RATHER THAN ONE OF OUTRIGHT
HOSTILITY. KAWASHIMA ATTRIBUTES THIS APPARENT
CHANGE TO PROBABILITY THAT MORIYAMA'S LIKING FOR HIS
CABINET POST EXCEEDS HIS HOSTILITY TO NPT, AND
HAS RECEIVED WORD THAT OUTRIGHT OPPOSITION TO NPT WOULD
BE UNACCEPTABLE AS LONG AS HE REMAINS IN CABINET.
MORIYAMA WILL SERVE AS CHAIRMAN OF GOJ DELEGATION TO
IAEA GENERAL CONFERENCE IN VIENNA, AND WILL PRESUMABLY
PRESENT JAPAN'S GENERAL DEBATE STATEMENT (HIS ENGLISH IS
SHAKY BUT PROBABLY GOOD ENOUGH TO READ STATEMENT).
STATEMENT MUST BE CLEARED BY FONOFF, AND WHILE IT
UNLIKELY TO CONTAIN CLEAR CUT REAFFIRMATION OF TANAKA'S
GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO SEEK NPT RATIFICATION, IT
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AT LEAST WILL NOT PREJUDICE CASE. THUS, IF MORIYAMA
PRESENTS STATEMENT, AS HE WISHES TO DO, HE WILL BE
MOVED IN PUBLIC FORUM SOMEWHAT CLOSER TO ACCEPTANCE
OF NPT.

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 EA-11 NEA-14 IO-14 ISO-00 AEC-11

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TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-07 DODE-00 SCI-06 FEA-02 EB-11

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R 311030Z JUL 74

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

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4. ADDITIONAL IMPORTANT FACTOR, ACCORDING TO KAWASHIMA, IS THAT, IN HIS VIEW, FUKUDA AND MITI MINISTER NAKASONE ARE "NOT OPPOSED" TO NPT. BOTH ARE REALISTS AND HAVE CAREFULLY REFRAINED FROM COMMITTING THEMSELVES EITHER AFFIRMATIVELY OR NEGATIVELY ON TANAKA'S DECISION OF LAST YEAR TO SEEK NPT RATIFICATION, PREFERRING TO SEE WHAT THEIR DECISIONS COULD BUY THEM IN TERMS OF OTHER POLITICAL OBJECTIVES. KAWASHIMA BELIEVES FUKUDA WILL ULTIMATELY REPLACE TANAKA, AND THAT AS TRADITIONAL CONFIDENTIAL

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POLITICIAN WHO RELIES HEAVILY ON JAPANESE SYSTEM OF CONSULTATION, HE WILL FINALLY COME AROUND TO CONCLUSION THAT NPT IS IN JAPAN'S BEST INTERESTS. JAPANESE EDITORIAL COMMENT, AFTER INITIAL DISMAY AT EFFECT OF INDIAN EXPLOSION AND EGYPT-ISRAEL FUEL ARRANGEMENT, HAS ALSO GENERALLY

COME AROUND TO CONCLUSION THAT THESE EVENTS SHOULD NOT
DETER JAPANESE PROGRESS TOWARD NPT RATIFICATION.

5. MOST IMPORTANT AFFIRMATIVE FACTOR, HOWEVER, ACCORDING
TO KAWASHIMA, IS CONTINUING SUPPORT FOR NPT OF JAPANESE
INDUSTRY. OUT OF CONCERN OVER EFFECTS OF SAFEGUARDS ON JAPANESE
COMMERCIAL INTERESTS INDUSTRY WAS ONCE THE FOCAL POINT OF RESIS-
TANCE TO NPT. THIS CONCERN HAS BEEN OVERCOME (KAWASHIMA
OBVIOUSLY CONSIDERS HE HAD KEY ROLE IN BRINGING THIS
CHANGE ABOUT), AND INDUSTRY NOW SEES NPT ADHERENCE AS
IMPORTANT TO MAINTAINING JAPANESE ACCESS TO NUCLEAR
MATERIALS, AS WELL AS TO AVOIDANCE OF INTERNATIONAL
CONCERN OVER JAPANESE INTENTIONS WHICH WOULD PREJUDICE
JAPANESE COMMERCIAL INTERESTS. COMMENTING FURTHER ON
SAFEGUARDS SITUATION, KAWASHIMA CLAIMED REASON THAT
PROPOSAL FOR CREATION OF NEW SAFEGUARDS OFFICE IN STA
WAS NOT ADOPTED WAS THAT IT REQUIRED DIET APPROVAL,
WHICH UNOBTAINABLE UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH PREVAILED
DURING RECENT DIET SESSION. (EMBASSY UNDERSTANDING
WAS THAT AS OFFICE OF LESS THAN BUREAU STATUS, NEW
SAFEGUARDS ORGANIZATION DID NOT REQUIRE DIET APPROVAL).
NEVERTHELESS, SOME MOVES TOWARD STRENGTHENING GOVERNMENTAL
SAFEGUARDS CAPABILITY WITHIN EXISTING STRUCTURE HAVE
BEEN MADE, ALTHOUGH RECRUITMENT OF ADDITIONAL PERSONNEL
IS PROVING DIFFICULT.

6. WHILE SEEING THESE AFFIRMATIVE FACTORS, KAWASHIMA
BELIEVES THAT A MAJOR NEW INITIATIVE IS NEEDED TO
RESTORE MOMENTUM TOWARD NPT RATIFICATION. CITING THE
RECENT INDIAN EXPLOSION AS CONCRETE EVIDENCE OF THE
RENEWAL OF PROLIFERATION, KAWASHIMA CONCEPT IS THAT
JAPANESE CONCERN OVER WORLDWIDE PROLIFERATION CAN, IF
PROPERLY HANDLED, PROVIDE IMPETUS FOR JAPANESE NPT
RATIFICATION, SINCE JAPANESE REALIZE THEIR OWN POSTURE
CAN BE CRUCIAL TO ACTIONS ELSEWHERE. KAWASHIMA HAS
PROPOSED TO FONOFF TWO STEP INITIATIVE, IN WHICH JAPAN
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WOULD 1) RECONFIRM ITS INTENTION TO SEEK NPT RATIFICATION,
AND 2) UNDERTAKE CONSULTATIONS WITH ALL NUCLEAR POWERS
ON NEW MEASURES, OVER AND ABOVE TREATY, TO HALT PROLIFERATION
BY APPLYING SANCTIONS OR PENALTIES TO COUNTRIES WHICH,
LIKE INDIA, EXPLODE NUCLEAR DEVICES. KAWASHIMA WAS
EXTREMELY VAGUE AS TO HOW CONSULTATIONS WOULD BE
ORGANIZED OR WHAT NATURE OF SANCTIONS WOULD BE. HE WAS
IMPLICITLY CRITICAL OF U.S., HOWEVER, FOR REFRAINING
FROM ACTION THAT WOULD REAFFIRM IMPORTANCE OF TREATY
FOLLOWING INDIAN EXPLOSION.

7. IN SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION WITH RYUICHI IMAI, NPT

SPOKESMAN FOR JAPANESE INDUSTRY WHO ALSO SERVES AS FONOFF CONSULTANT, IMAI CONFIRMED MAIN OUTLINES OF KAWASHIMA'S ANALYSIS: I.E., THAT JAPANESE INDUSTRY IN NOW AFFIRMATIVE FORCE FOR NPT, AND THAT MORIYAMA HAS BACKED OFF SOMEWHAT FROM FORMER POSTURE OF ACTIVE NPT OPPOSITION. IMAI INDICATED THAT SOME LOW-KEY CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN FONOFF AND STA ARE IN PROGRESS, LOOKING TOWARD RENEWAL OF SAFE-GUARD NEGOTIATIONS WITH IAEA. HE BELIEVES COMPLETION OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BECOME A KEY FACTOR IN WHETHER OR NOT NPT RATIFICATION CAN BE REINTRODUCED AT DIET SESSION BEGINNING LATE THIS YEAR. UNFORTUNATELY, HE POINTED OUT, PRINCIPAL NPT EXPERTS IN FONOFF (SUGIHARA, UN BUREAU SCIENCE DIVISION DIRECTOR TANAKA, AND UN BUREAU COUNSELLOR NODA) HAVE BEEN TIED UP IN LOS CONFERENCE, AND NO ONE IS KEEPING THE MOMENTUM UP.

8. COMMENT: WHILE ANALYSIS OF CURRENT NPT PROSPECTS PRESENTED BY THESE TWO KNOWLEDGEABLE SOURCES DOES NOT EXTEND TO POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT BEYOND THE BUREAUCRACY, THEIR CLEAR INDICATION THAT PROPONENTS OF NPT ARE WILLING TO CONTINUE EFFORT TO ACHIEVE RATIFICATION IS ENCOURAGING. THEY BOTH CONFIRMED WHAT WE HAVE HEARD CLEARLY FROM OTHER SOURCES, THAT WHAT JAPANESE --RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY-- PERCEIVE TO BE AMBIGUOUS U.S. ATTITUDE TOWARD NPT IS CONTINUING TO STRENGTHEN STAND OF OPPONENTS TO RATIFICATION. KAWASHIMA'S SUGGESTION OF JAPANESE INITIATIVE TO DEVELOP DIALOGUE WITH NUCLEAR POWERS MAY NOT BE REALISTIC, BUT IT SOUNDS MUCH LIKE THE SUGGESTION RECENTLY PUT TO GOJ BY AUSTRALIAN AMBASSADOR IN TOKYO (MEMCON POUCHED DEPARTMENT).
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IN ANY EVENT, WE BELIEVE IT WILL CONTINUE TO BE HELPFUL TO SUPPORTERS OF NPT RATIFICATION IN JAPAN FOR U.S. AUTHORITIES TO REAFFIRM OUR SUPPORT FOR NPT AT EVERY APPROPRIATE JUNCTURE, BOTH PRIVATELY WITH JAPANESE AND PUBLICLY.
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